DECLASSIFIED

June 30, 1958

SECRET

My dear Friend:

I have your letter of June 16 in reply to mine of May 22. I have already regretfully replied by cable to that part of it which suggested that I might come to Bonn and talk with you following my meeting with General de Gaulle. Because of an engagement to go to Canada with President Eisenhower, I can only spend 24 hours in Europe, arriving in Paris late Friday afternoon and leaving Saturday night immediately following a dinner which I am giving for the Foreign Minister. I am the more sorry because I really feel that there is a need for us to have a good talk together to keep our thinking in harmony. Written communications are no adequate substitute. However, I will try to put down a few thoughts, particularly about the subject of disarmament which preoccupies us all so much these days.

The inherent difficulty of the problem is immensely increased by the fact that we are dealing with those who are utterly undependable and who deliberately make agreements which they can later break to our undoing. There is a very long list of nations and of people who have come to an untimely end by relying upon Soviet promises. The Baltic States were among the earlier, and Hungary among the more recent, victims of relying upon Communist promises.

If, therefore, we heed the lesson which has been taught so many times, we must be very careful. This in turn creates problems because of the inordinate complexity of the elements of military power. That makes it almost impossible to arrive at disarmament agreements which have equal military implications for both sides, and which are 100% dependable as regards supervision and enforcement.

His Excellency
Dr. Konrad Adenauer,
Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany,
Bonn.

SECRET

DECLASSIFIED

ORIGINAL Very Poor

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

When there is not immediate danger, governments feel justified in taking some chances in the short run. But when there is a high degree of political tension, when great injustices are being perpetuated, when "cold war" is being aggressively waged under conditions which make violent outbreaks likely, and when "cheating" could have fatal consequences, then governments do not like to take chances.

This does not, of course, preclude limited agreements to stabilize the military environment and reduce the danger of war, e.g., by inspection against surprise attack including advance notification and inspection of outer space launchings. We may even be able to agree on measures to prevent the growth and spread of nuclear production capabilities; and perhaps to control the proliferation of ballistic missile delivery systems whose ever shorter reaction times may pose a growing threat to peace because of the immense and perhaps decisive advantage it gives to him who strikes first.

I do not preclude some limited cuts in conventional forces, though I question that this would be significant because of the problem of reserves, para-military forces, geographical location, and the like. But real disarmament, in the sense of a substantial dismantling of existing military establishments, seems to me a distant prospect.

I doubt that the economic and moral strain of armament will lead to unilateral disarmament of the democratic peoples. I cannot speak with authority for others, but I can, I think, speak for the United States.

Admittedly the economic strain of maintaining adequate armaments is very great, particularly for peoples who do not like being militaristic. But there is, I think, no reason why such strain should become unbearable.

The total productivity of the industrialized free world nations is about three times that corresponding Soviet bloc productivity. Today we are spending somewhat more than they are for military purposes. But their spending represents a percentage of gross national production about double ours. If the burden is fairly distributed among us, and if there is a sound military strategy, it ought to be possible to maintain

SECRET

ORIGINAL VERY POOR

-3-

adequate retaliatory deterrent against massive attack and to develop a capacity for area defense which will minimize the superior manpower of the Soviet bloc.

I do not ignore the advantage that the Soviet has in imposing discipline and austerity upon its people. However, they face a growing demand on the part of their people for more consumers goods and they are under heavy economic burdens from the needs of their satellites and China and the demands of their economic warfare. This puts somewhat of a brake on their military effort.

With respect to the inspection by aerial photography, our military people are convinced that this alone is inadequate and to be effective has to be supplemented by some mobile ground observation.

I had myself at first believed that aerial photography alone could dependably detect at least launching sites for missiles. We are having this whole question of the means of inspecting a ban on ballistic missile production and deployment studied. But it already seems clear that any ally could camouflage a missile and that only a thorough ground inspection would afford dependable protection against evasion of an agreement dealing with missiles. I confess that I was disappointed at these conclusions which seemed to eliminate a possibility of inspection which was both simple and of great significance.

The proposal of Lincoln Gordon to which you refer is, of course, appealing. But I have reason to believe that the UK Cabinet does not regard that proposal as one which is practical at the present time in that the Soviet Union surely would never accept it. Whether we could accept all of its implications is at least dubious.

I myself am disposed to think that the most realistic way to make progress toward limitation of armament is through establishing significant zones of inspection which would greatly minimize the fear of massive surprise attack. Our proposal in this respect as regards the polar regions, if it had been accepted, would have accomplished much. There would, of course, be need of something comparable in Europe.

SECRET

SECRET ORIGINAL Very Poor

If the fear of massive surprise attack could be done away with, then I think there would almost automatically come about reduction on both sides. The Soviet side does not want to carry the heavy expense of armament if conditions prevail for its being put to effective aggressive use. And we do not want to carry the heavy expense of large armaments-in-being if they are not necessary to deter or withstand sudden attack.

It seems to me that we ought to be able to find ways to minimize this awful risk of massive surprise attack and that in the calmer atmosphere that succeeded this, other measures might be taken.

I believe, of course, that political settlements notably the reunification of Germany, could do much to create a better atmosphere. But I share your view that if progress could be made independently of political settlements, we should not reject going down the arms control road merely because of the lack of political settlements. It seems to me, however, that given the present mood of the Soviets, we should not expose ourselves to a Summit meeting on terms that involve a renunciation of our just and legitimate political positions and a repudiation of the first Summit meeting merely in the hope of some significant disarmament agreement. That is why, I believe, we need to feel our way with care.

These, my dear Chancellor, are some of the thoughts I would have liked to talk over with you, along with many more. I shall strive to find the opportunity. In the meantime, I express my very warm sentiments of friendship.

Faithfully yours,

John Foster Dulles

SECRET

DECLASSIFIED

came to see me with Henry Tasca. His large firm is active, amongst other matters, in making electronic equipment, including the guiding system for the Vanguard missile.

We went tonight to see "The Bridge on the River Kwai". The movie was excellent for the most part, especially because of the superlative acting of Alec Guiness. However, the ending left me completely confused. In spite of intense concentration I could not determine who was shooting whom and why during the episode which ended with the train falling through the broken bridge.

Tuesday, July 8, 1958

Office distractions of one kind or another this morning.

Freddie Allen, Alice and Julian's 17-year old son, came to lunch with Sasha and myself. E had gone to the Düsseldorf airport to meet Bunny Mellon. The house is [redacted] quiet since we put the two-legged boys on the train Saturday afternoon with Yolande on their way to the MacJannette Camp at Talloire, France. They looked rather pathetic in a crowded second class compartment with their faces pressed against the window, Nicky smeared with a melting chocolate bar and David, somewhat hampered by his braces, chewing a nut confection. I found young Allen delightful and was taken by his intelligence and agreeability.

Bernard Gufler called on me in the office this afternoon and we discussed Berlin affairs.

DECLASSIFIED

DECLASSIFIED

Messrs. Luke Finlay, William Carlisle, Mr. Bayless and Dr. Theel, all of Standard of New Jersey or affiliates, arrived with Henry Tasca to talk about the Common Market and the Free Trade Area.

John Hcuser, representing the Hilton Hotel interests, came to see me with Mr. Irwin to tell me of their difficulties in connection with the financing of the Hilton Hotel in Berlin. It is almost built but its sponsors have run out of money.

The team of Tyler and Wellington saw me this morning to go over various memoranda regarding our conference on Friday with General Hodes. We resumed our conversation at 5:00 and it lasted another couple of hours.

Wednesday, July 9, 1958

Tennant Bryan, publisher of the Richmond, Virginia newspapers, called me last night and made an appointment to come to the office this morning. He is a son of my old friend John Steward Bryan who, before his death some years ago, was one of the most accomplished Virginians. This morning Tennant telephoned to say his plans had changed and he was off to Brussels.

Henry Loomis, director of the Broadcasting Service of the USIA, came with Ned Nordness to tell me of some of the changes George Allen is thinking of making in the USIA budget. Amongst other things, he is considering the elimination sooner or later of the RIAS operation. This

DECLASSIFIED

DECLASSIFIED

would come, I think, as a shock to the Germans, especially the Berliners, and we will have to express our views on the political aspects of such a decision.

Wednesday, July 9, 1958

I went to see the Chancellor late this afternoon and summarized my conversation with him in the following message:

(Text on following pages 194 and 195).

Tonight we all went to dinner at the Embassy Club and afterwards to see the show given by the American Community called "My Fair Mehlem". It was good entertainment and wonderfully well done.

This has been the first entirely clear day for a long time.

In connection with my interview with the Chancellor, in addition to discussing the conversations between the Secretary and de Gaulle, he questioned me, as usual, about the German Assets situation in Washington and, as usual, I gave him the latest Departmental instructions to me on the subject. He spoke of the Secretary having referred frequently to an eventual breakdown in the Soviet Union economically and politically as a result of internal tensions. Adenauer thinks Dulles underrates the danger of a similar breakdown taking place in the free nations before any such catastrophe occurs in Russia. He also said he feared the Secretary was too much influenced by Pentagon thinking. As for himself, he had always found the military insistent on a 100% solution to the problem of disarmament. Such

DECLASSIFIED

Form 7 - SECRET THE FOREIGN SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

OUTGOING TELEGRAM

AMEMBASSY, BONN

49 10 JUL 58

- 194 -

CHARGE TO

SECRET
CLASSIFICATION

302
CONTROL NUMBER

RAZ/PFB

PRECEDENCE

July 10, 1958, 3 PM
DATE

AMB
ECM
TOL

PRIORITY

SENT TO: Secstate WASHINGTON (NIACT) 97

LIMIT DISTRIBUTION.

Deptel 61. I saw Chancellor last night. He had previously read Secretary's message about deGaulle meeting and I briefed him on some additional points covered by Paris Embtel Secto 2. sent Dept., London, Bonn, Moscow.

Ademauer said he was concerned over French desire for world position founded on atom bomb capacity. He doubted they could develop military bomb before 1960, and then it would only be a token. They are said to have obtained some offer of financial help in this field from Italians but if they approach Germans he is indisposed to participate.

Also he finds deGaulle attitude toward FTA disturbing as well as desire postpone decision on site 6 nation capital for two years. He thinks it quite evident French believe their enhanced prestige after two years, if they then have own military atomic capability, will enable them successfully demand location capital at Paris.

DISTRIBUTION

302

Name of originating Office, Persons Name, and Telephone No.

SECRET
CLASSIFICATION

INFORMATION COPY

Form AE/GER-681
(Jul 57)

Unless "Unclassified" reproduction from this copy is not authorized

Form AE/GER-12
(Aug 57)

THE FOREIGN SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

OUTGOING TELEGRAM

AMERICAN EMBASSY, BONN

CHARGE TO

- 195 -

SECRET
CLASSIFICATION

302
CONTROL NUMBER

PRECEDENCE

DATE

- 2 -

He has not received any official invitation to visit deGaulle. If he does he will not make QUOTE pilgrimage to Paris UNQUOTE but would be willing meet him elsewhere. He went to see Mollet when latter was Prime Minister but visit was never returned. He believes German people would disapprove a Paris pilgrimage. In any event he has now made vacation plans.

Chancellor expects to be on holiday from end first week August until mid-September probably at Cernobbio on Lake Como. Thinks it desirable and necessary to have talks with Secretary in course of autumn. He intends write Secretary next week. Would have done so earlier but too preoccupied with North Rhine-Westphalia campaign.

BRUCE

AEH:DBruce

DISTRIBUTION

AMB
EM
POL (1)
Only

302

AMB/DBruce/msb 3111

Name of originating Office, Persons Name, and Telephone No.

SECRET
CLASSIFICATION

Form AE/GER-681
(Jul 57)

Corrections or additions may be made only by authority of originating Office, Telegraph Section

INFORMATION COPY

Unless "Unclassified" reproduction from this copy is not authorized

DECLASSIFIED

is impossible. Generals are the same the world over. They should be listened to sympathetically but the political leaders have to make the final decisions.

Thursday, July 10, 1958

Dr. Ross of the Süddeutsche Zeitung came to see me this morning.

I had a lunch for the attractive Secretary of the Navy Gates. The other guests were: Minister and Mrs. William C. Trimble; Major General and Mrs. Herbert B. Thatcher, Mrs. Paul Mellon; Mr. William R. Tyler; Captain and Mrs. Albert P. Scott; Mrs. Meyer S. Handler; Mr. Harold Callender and Mr. Alfred Wells.

Harold Callender of the New York Times is recovering from a serious operation and I thought still looked very badly.

Denny Flinn arrived from Heidelberg this afternoon and we conferred about military convoys, trucks and access to Berlin.

F and Bunnie Mellon left this afternoon by air for London.

Friday, July 11, 1958

Marcus Daly, Director of the Governmental Committee for European Migration, who replaced Harold Tittman in this post in Geneva, came to see me this morning. He had retired from business a good many years ago with the idea of devoting himself to governmental work. I found what he had to say very interesting and would surmise that he has really dedicated himself to carrying out his responsibilities.

General Hodes arrived at lunch time, preceded by General Hamlett,

DECLASSIFIED

DECLASSIFIED

I went to the sumptuous Rod and Gun Club and bought some fishing tackle. The manager of the PX took me for a tour through his establishment. It is like a good-sized department store at home. They make importations not only from the United States but from all over Europe.

I had lunch with Dasher at the Hotel von Steuben. Later we went into the wine cellar where I bought a case of fine Mosel.

When I returned this afternoon I found the Hoskinses had already arrived, mother, father and Binty, aged about twelve. Harold and I talked for a couple of hours about his State Department instruction program and the difficulties he had encountered from Congressman Rooney.

Lieutenant and Madame Descroix, the latter a sister of Yolande, arrived in the late afternoon to stay a few days with us. We all dined together. The Descroix are going to El Paso shortly for his further air training. They are a personable young couple.

Hoskins is quite right, in my opinion, in insisting upon the importance of teaching foreign languages to as many members of the State Department as possible. He had the advantage himself, having been born of missionary parents in Beirut, of learning Arabic, German, French and English as a child in school.

E arrived about nine-thirty tonight from London via Düsseldorf.

Sunday, July 13, 1958

Another talk with Hoskins this morning and then Grania and he went off with Rebecca Wellington to lunch in the country.

DECLASSIFIED

DECLASSIFIED

At the office part of the afternoon. Like yesterday, it is a warm day but rain threatens.

Harold Callender came to see me at five-thirty.

Mardi and John Hughes [redacted] arrived late this afternoon at Düsseldorf and are spending several days at the Hotel Dreesen.

Rebecca Wellington came out just before dinner with two Niact telegrams regarding a Soviet defector. These required immediate action. It is a complicated case for the individual is evidently a paranoiac.

The Hughes', Hoskins', Descroix'; Rebecca, Yolande and the children dined with us.

Monday, July 14, 1958

E and I left Mehlem about [redacted] o'clock, arriving two hours later in the Krupp private station at Hügel where we were met by Alfried Krupp von Bohlen und Halbach, Berthold Beitz, Chairman of the Executive Board, and Claus Ahlefeldt. First we made a tour of the Villa Hügel, built by Krupp's great-grandfather in 1870. It is a massive, enormous and ugly example of the style prevailing in Germany at that period but has some magnificent tapestries and interesting family portraits. No one lives in it now and it is available to visitors and for exhibitions. [redacted] It is situated in a forest of about 700 acres.

Although Essen is only 5 kilometers distant, open fields and woods surround this great industrial city. The views remind me [redacted] of

DECLASSIFIED

DECLASSIFIED

what one sees outside Pittsburgh. The Düsseldorf museum being under repair, many of their best things, and they are of high quality, are on exhibition at the Villa. We lunched with those who had met us together with Herr Keller, a member of the Executive Board, and his wife at Herr Krupp's own house which is a few hundred yards away from the big establishment. It was built after the designs of a young Munich architect, is modest in size, [redacted] with a superb outlook through great plate glass windows to the fields and hills beyond. Only an occastional smokestack in the distance reminds one of being in the heart of the Ruhr.

Krupp himself is about the last man one would casually think of as having been a war criminal. He is shy, soft-spoken, [redacted] courteous and looks unhappy. I understand he took little interest in the family business during his father's lifetime and does not now actively manage it. According to the custom always prevailing in the family the Krupp interest devolves upon the death of the head of the family on the eldest son. Consequently, although this man has brothers and sisters, the ownership of the chief enterprises is not shared by them. I found his personality sympathetic.

In the afternoon we made a tour of Essen. It had been about 80% destroyed by bombing but now seems to have been reconstructed in about the same proportion. We visited a works hospital opened today in honor of the formidable mother, "Big Bertha Krupp". The nurses' home, which is one of the finest hospital buildings I have ever seen, is in a large park, and nearby are dozens of trim houses lived in by pensioned employees of

DECLASSIFIED

the firm. We saw the vast workshops of Essen and trudged for a mile or so through the locomotive works. The firm employs about 105,000 people in Germany. At the height of the war it had about 250,000 employees.

Leaving Hügel at four o'clock we went to Remagen and motored up to the French Ambassador's residence to attend a reception commemorating Bastille Day. The Leducs officiated. Everything was done in an attractive fashion. When I got out of the car I met Kit Steel who was leaving the house. He told me of the dramatic events in Iraq, upon which he had as yet received few details. I found much gossip on this subject amongst the diplomats. Crown Prince Abdul Ilah was said to have been cut in two and his body then burnt. Old Nuri es Said was also said to have been assassinated. No one knew the fate of the King. The British Embassy had been sacked and burned but my friend Michael Wright [redacted] escaped and found shelter in a hotel.

When we returned home I tried to get more news on the radio but it seemed the revolutionaries were in possession of the communications system and were giving out no bulletins. A Republic has been proclaimed.

The Descroix' dined with us and are leaving early tomorrow morning.

Tuesday, July 15, 1958

We commenced the morning with a staff meeting to hear Harold Hoskins on language training.

DECLASSIFIED

Deputy Assistant Secretary for Defense Charles Shuff called on me with Generals Thatcher and Dewey and Mr. Barringer. Shuff is concerned over the failure of the German Air Force to utilize many of the F-84s furnished the FedRep under the Nash List arrangements.

Richard Brown, head of the Escapee Program, came to tell me goodbye. After six years here he is being reassigned to Washington. He thinks the refugee situation, like the political one, in the Middle East is almost hopeless from a Western viewpoint.

Clarence Miles from Baltimore and George Bunker, President of the Glenn L. Martin Co., and Mr. Tibbs, Martin's chief European representative, came to see me this afternoon. They are staying at Wiesbaden and want to talk with the German firms about electronic devices and the possible manufacture of missiles. I arranged for them to see Messrs. Tasca and von Elbe.

I went to a reception at the Redoute given by Bürgermeister Hopman.

We had the following for dinner tonight: Ambassador of Luxembourg and Mrs. Majerus; Ambassador of Turkey and Mrs. Iksel; Ambassador of Austria and Mrs. Schoener; Herr Hans Bott, personal assistant to President Heuss; the Chargé d'Affaires of Peru and Mrs. Vargas Quintanilla; Mr. and Mrs. M. S. Williams, CMG, Minister of the British Embassy; the Honorable John C. Hughes and Mrs. Hughes; Mr. William R. Tyler; Colonel and Mrs. Fred W. Miller, Air Attaché; Mr. and Mrs. Walter White and Miss Angelica White.

DECLASSIFIED

Wednesday, July 16, 1958

News of the landing of our Marines yesterday in Lebanon was officially announced today.

Adolph Schmidt came to see me this morning. He flew over by helicopter from Brussels after attending in Paris meetings of organizations devoted to the sponsorship of Atlantic Union. The development of Pittsburgh has taken second place in Schmidt's interest to international affairs. He is a competent man and I sometimes feel I unsettled him in his business career by drafting him into the OSS. He wants me to arrange, if possible, a meeting between Clarence Streit and General Pierre Billote with Chancellor Adenauer. Streit is an indomitable fellow. His early ambitions for a comprehensive union have been successively tailored to smaller sizes. I have known Billote for many years. He is shallow although plausible.

I lunched with Sheppard Stone. He has lately seen Jean Monnet. The Ford Foundation is about to make an additional grant of $500,000 to further Monnet's activities--I doubt it has ever allocated money to a more constructive purpose. Shep is extraordinarily well-informed on German conditions and gave me useful information.

Immediately after lunch I made a welcoming address to 85 Air Force Cadets, attempting to trace the history of Germany from its tribal origins to the consolidation of empire under Bismarck.

DECLASSIFIED

DECLASSIFIED

The new Venezuelan Ambassador, Dr. R. Burelli Rivas made his first call on me this afternoon.

News from Iraq continues scanty. Courageous old Nuri es Said was reported this morning as having been killed. According to the account he had taken refuge in a house in Bagdad disguised in woman's clothes. Betrayed, when approached by the security squad, he [redacted] opened fire on it. This was a losing game: he was shot.

The Iraqi Ambassador Sulaiman came to see me urgently. He had just received a communication from the new Government asking him to go at once to New York and represent it at the U. N. emergency meetings. Although he has been in the past active in politics in Iraq and a Cabinet member, he said he was not identified with any particular faction. Regardless of the recent excesses at home he would not want to refuse to take an interest in whatever the future might hold for his country. Therefore, he was gravely troubled over his reply to the new Government and sought my advice.

I told him it seemed to me extremely dubious that recognition would be accorded the newly proclaimed Republic in time for him to participate in current deliberations. Under those circumstances he would be reduced to the humiliating position of hanging around the corridors or the outskirts of the U. N. building. Would he not consider temporizing with this offer by pointing out the above and asking to be ordered home for immediate consultation? By the time he arrived the whole situation might be clearer.

DECLASSIFIED

He is in a tough spot since he has a son and daughter in Bagdad. He has no real knowledge of what has occurred there.

Thursday, July 17, 1958

The British landed troops in Jordan today.

Dr. Brode, Science Advisor to the State Department, came to see me this morning. We settled on representation of his office in this Embassy.

I went to see the Chancellor at twelve o'clock to talk to him about the Turkish loan. Our conversation is summarized in the following telegram:

(Text on following pages 206 and 207).

Colonel Davies, Chairman of the Gulf Oil Company activities in the Eastern hemisphere, came to lunch with me. I had not seen him since war days when he was in SOE.

He saw Spaak yesterday in Paris and thinks NATO should take a strong stand with a view to protecting Western oil interests in the Middle East. He said Spaak was sympathetic but that neither of them had clear ideas as to how the objective might be accomplished. I asked whether the British would send armed forces into Kuwait if it were threatened. He said he thought this likely and British public opinion would accept it on the grounds that Kuwait is a Protectorate. However, he observed that at the present time 80% of the population of Kuwait was said to be pro-Nasser and, therefore, in effect, anti-Sheik. His estimates of the oil resources of the Sheikdom, including recent discoveries, are staggering. It has the richest oil fields in the world.

DECLASSIFIED

Form AE/GER-12 THE FOREIGN SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

OUTGOING TELEGRAM AMERICAN EMBASSY, BONN

- 206 -

1757 17 JUL 58

CHARGE TO
33 EEP/EP

AMB
DCM

POL
ECON
USIS
CA

CONFIDENTIAL
CLASSIFICATION

540
CONTROL NUMBER

PRECEDENCE

July 17, 1958 /6 PM
DATE

SENT TO: Secstate WASHINGTON (PRIORITY) 174

POUCH:
CA FKFTRPTD INFO: PARIS TOPOL (PRIORITY) 8
CA MUN 2

Amembassy LONDON (PRIORITY) 30

Amembassy ANKARA (PRIORITY) 2

FOR DILLON FROM BRUCE

Upon receipt Deptel 147 I went immediately see Chancellor. He said he had discussed this matter yesterday with Blessing head Central Bank. In addition to fifty million out of 200 million asked from FedRep Adenauer observed there was another thirty million which FedRep expected provide on multilateral basis. Mr. Alison French had just made another support costs claim which must be taken into account in connection total German possibilities foreign payments or commitments.

Without giving any decision as to figures Adenauer had told Blessing FedRep would participate in preliminary financing of Turkey. Blessing was already negotiating with American authorities (Adenauer did not know who they were) and had authority represent FedRep and make recommenda-

DISTRIBUTION

Name of originating Office, Persons Name, and Telephone No.

540 CONFIDENTIAL
CLASSIFICATION

Form AE/GER-681
(Jul 57)

CLASSIFICATION Declassified/Released to make
check copies for delivery to Foreign Service

Unless "Unclassified" reproduction from this copy is not authorized

Form AE OTR-12
(AUG 57)

THE FOREIGN SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

OUTGOING TELEGRAM

AMERICAN EMBASSY, BONN

CHARGE TO

- 207 -

CONFIDENTIAL
CLASSIFICATION

540
CONTROL NUMBER

PRECEDENCE

- 2 -

DATE

tions to Chancellor who would decide upon them in Cabinet when received.

I assume you know with whom Blessing is negotiating. I do not.

Chancellor will be in Berlin this weekend, returning Wednesday. FonMin on vacation. Adenauer said QUOTE There are too many cooks stirring this soup UNQUOTE.

A.B.

BRUCE

AUTH: DBruce

DEPTEL 147 JULY 16 CN-1153 CONF

DISTRIBUTION

540

AMB/DBruce/meb 3111
Name of originating Office, Persons Name, and Telephone No.

CONFIDENTIAL
CLASSIFICATION

Form AE - 681
(Nov 56)

Copies of this telegram should not be made or circulated except by telegraph section.

Unless "Unclassified" reproduction from this copy is not authorized

INFORMATION COPY

At my staff meeting this afternoon Dr. Brode explained his program for Germany.

The UAR Ambassador Zeineddine came to see me. He has represented his country both in Washington and at the U. N. He is facile in speech and obviously intelligent. I understand he is disliked in the State Department for his anti-American views. Obviously, he did not mention them to me and except for talking of the irresistible tide of Arab nationalism confined himself to generalities.

At six-thirty Bill Stearman and I went fishing on the Rod and Gun Club's stretch of the Ahr. We used only dry flies. I caught two chub in one pool and a good grayling about fourteen inches long in another. He was full of fight. Graylings' mouths are [redacted] tender and it is difficult to hold them with the tiny flies one has to use to attract them.

Friday, July 18, 1958

Acting Foreign Minister van Scherpenberg sent for me this morning. As a result I dispatched the following telegram:

(Text on following pages 209 and 210).

Later I saw Gaston Coblentz at the office.

Elizabeth Graham arrived from Holland for lunch with her daughters Polly and Terry. Terry is going to stay some time with Sasha and the others are going to Brussels this afternoon.

Professor Taylor Cole from Duke University and Dr. Donald Layman, head of the Franz Lieber Haus, called on me this afternoon.

THE FOREIGN SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA 18 JUL 58

OUTGOING TELEGRAM AMERICAN EMBASSY, BONN

- 209 -

CHARGE TO
31 CE/EEP

CONFIDENTIAL — CLASSIFICATION

566 — CONTROL NUMBER

PRECEDENCE

July 18, 1958 4PM — DATE

AMB
DCM
POL
ECON
USIS
CA

SENT TO: Secstate WASHINGTON (NIACT) 180

PRIORITY
CA FKFT2
CA MUN 2
USPOLAD1

Van Scherpenberg, Acting FonMin, sent for me today on instructions from Chancellor. He had previously seen British Minister Williams. FedRep Govt wished Secretary informed that it worried about possible extension military operations into Iraq. Disturbed over claims made in certain NATO quarters re right of Hussein as head of ~~EmBexz~~ federation to act as such in Iraq affairs. In spite Macmillan's statement in House of Commons last night FedRep not reassured as to intervention in Iraq.

If Hussein were to go into Iraq with own forces that would be end Jordanian army and his throne. The longer Iraq is kept out of present Western operations in MidEast the better.

If war-like actions were to be undertaken in Iraq FedRep would have to re-examine its present position of sympathy and understanding for British and American policies in that part of world.

DISTRIBUTION

Name of originating Office, Persons Name, and Telephone No.

566 CONFIDENTIAL
CLASSIFICATION

INFORMATION COPY

Form AE — 681
(Nov 56)

Unless "Unclassified" reproduction from this copy is not authorized

THE FOREIGN SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

OUTGOING TELEGRAM AMERICAN EMBASSY, BONN

CHARGE TO

- 210 -

CONFIDENTIAL
CLASSIFICATION

566
CONTROL NUMBER

PRECEDENCE

- 2 -

DATE

Another subject: In connection with any movements from Germany of US-NATO forces would be appreciated if FedRep could whenever possible be informed in advance since Govt sure to be almost immediately questioned on subject as result local population's becoming aware of such operations. Realize prior clearance will have been obtained from SACEUR but this does not entirely meet FedRep domestic necessities.

Another subject: I told Scherpenberg I was speaking entirely personally in remarking that it appeared to me from a reading of reports of recent NAC meetings that Blanckenhorn's instructions seemed to have precluded him from expressing vigorous FedRep approval US and British policies in Lebanese and Jordanian situations. Also as frequently pointed out by newspapers there had been no forthright pronouncements on same subject by high FedRep officials.

He asked if I objected to his repeating this to Chancellor whom he expects see this afternoon. I answered I would be glad to have him do so provided it were made absolutely clear my comments were only on personal basis and I had received no complaints or observations from my own Govt in this regard.

DISTRIBUTION
AMB (3)

BRUCE
AUTH: DBruce/msb 3111

Name of originating Office, Persons Name, and Telephone No.

566

CONFIDENTIAL
CLASSIFICATION

INFORMATION COPY

Form AE - 681
(Nov 56)

Unless "Unclassified" reproduction from this copy is not authorized

DECLASSIFIED

Ned Nordness brought in Dr. Edward DeLos Myers, our new Cultural Attaché. He is 51 years old and was born in Martinsville, Virginia. He has impressive qualifications for this position and has an attractive personality.

There have been anti-American riots in various countries protesting the landing of American troops in Lebanon. We were informed today of the intention of about fifty Arab students to march in front of the Embassy this afternoon. They notified the police of their program, but never showed up.

E and I went to the Spanish Embassy where their National Day was celebrated. I left tonight for Hamburg.

Saturday, July 19, 1958

I sent off yesterday afternoon two more telegrams, one regarding the Turkish financial situation and also remarks to me by the Chancellor on the remaining regional elections:

(Texts on following pages 212, 213 and 214).

I went with Consul General Maney at nine o'clock to call on the Mayor, Max Brauer. He is a handsome man, looking much younger than his real age of 71. He had spent a great deal of time in America and had taken out citizenship there during the war.

Afterwards, Bill Tyler, Bill Stearman and Sandalls, the Political Officer in Hamburg, went with me to call on Axel Springer. His press

DECLASSIFIED

Form AE 6 12

THE [illegible] OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

OUTGOING TELEGRAM

AMERICAN EMBASSY, BONN

- 212 -

1957 JUL 17 PM 5:51

CHARGE TO
33 EEP/EP

CONFIDENTIAL
CLASSIFICATION

540
CONTROL NUMBER

AMEMB
DCM
POL
ECON
USIS
CA

CORRECTED COPY 20 JULY
ANKARA SERIAL TO 03
PRECEDENCE

July 17, 1957 6 PM
DATE

POUCH:
CA FKFT
CA MUN 2

SENT TO: Secstate WASHINGTON (PRIORITY) 174

RPTD INFO: PARIS TOPOL (PRIORITY) 8

Amembassy LONDON (PRIORITY) 30

Amembassy ANKARA (PRIORITY) 03

FOR DILLON FROM BRUCE

Upon receipt Deptel 147 I went immediately see Chancellor. He said he had discussed this matter yesterday with Blessing head Central Bank. In addition to fifty million out of 200 million asked from FedRep Adenauer observed there was another thirty million which FedRep expected provide on multilateral basis. [illegible] French had just made another support costs claim which must be taken into account in connection total German possibilities foreign payments or commitments.

Without giving any decision as to figures Adenauer had told Blessing FedRep would participate in preliminary financing of Turkey. Blessing was already negotiating with American authorities (Adenauer did not know who they were) and had authority represent FedRep and make recommenda-

DISTRIBUTION

Name of originating Office, Persons Name, and Telephone No.

540 CONFIDENTIAL
CLASSIFICATION

Form AE – 681
(Nov 56)

Copy INFORMATION COPY
as all copies [illegible]

Unless "Unclassified" reproduction from this copy is not authorized

Form AE-681 TREASURY DEPARTMENT, UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

OUTGOING TELEGRAM AMERICAN EMBASSY, BONN

CHARGE TO

- 213 -

CONFIDENTIAL — CLASSIFICATION

540 — CONTROL NUMBER

PRECEDENCE

- 2 -

DATE

tions to Chancellor who would decide upon them in Cabinet when received.

I assume you know with whom Blessing is negotiating. I do not. Chancellor will be in Berlin this weekend, returning Wednesday. FonMin on vacation. Adenauer said QUOTE There are too many cooks stirring this soup UNQUOTE.

BRUCE

AUTH: DBruce

DEPTEL 147 JULY 16 CN-1153 CONF

DISTRIBUTION

540

AMB/DBruce/msb 3111

Name of originating Office, Persons Name, and Telephone No.

CONFIDENTIAL

CLASSIFICATION

Form AE-681 (Nov 56)

INFORMATION COPY

Unless "Unclassified" reproduction from this copy is not authorized

THE FOREIGN SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

OUTGOING TELEGRAM AMERICAN EMBASSY, BONN

1902 JUL 18

- 214 -

CHARGE TO

89 DEPT

AMB
DCM
POL
ECON
USIS
CA
POUCH:
CA/FKFT 2
CA/MUN 2
USPOLAD 1

CONFIDENTIAL
CLASSIFICATION

598
CONTROL NUMBER

PRECEDENCE

July 18, 1958 /8 P.M.
DATE

SENT TO: Secstate WASHINGTON (ROUTINE) 190

In talk with Chancellor yesterday he said that as presently estimated he anticipated no difficulty his party winning elections in Schleswig-Holstein and Bavaria but success in Hesse was doubtful.

BRUCE

AUTH: DBruce

DISTRIBUTION

AMB/DBruce/meb 3111
Name of originating Office, Persons Name, and Telephone No.

CN 598

CONFIDENTIAL
CLASSIFICATION

Form AE/GER-681
(Jul 57)

INFORMATION COPY

Unless "Unclassified" reproduction from this copy is not authorized

DECLASSIFIED

building is almost the best of its kind I have ever seen. The whole top floor has been decorated in gay colors for conferences, receptions, meals and entertainments of every sort. We talked for an hour and a half, mostly about the situation in the Middle East. His publications are, generally speaking, antagonistic to the American action. I do not know whether or not we made an impression on what seemed to me to be the confused thinking of himself and those of his associates who were present. At any rate, our talks were conducted in an atmosphere of extreme cordiality.

We bought some smoked eel and smoked sturgeon, for the former of which Hamburg is famous, before going to Maney's house where we stayed a short time as we had to be at the Rathaus at one o'clock. There the Bürgermeister gave a large lunch for Vice Admiral Austin and many of his officers. They had arrived this morning with a number of American war ships. Brauer, Austin and myself made speeches, [redacted] then we left at 3:50, arriving in Mehlem at 10:30.

When the armada approached the Hamburg harbor this morning it was somewhat delayed by thick fog, but the rest of the day the sun shone brightly.

When I returned home tonight I found that the transfer of the helicopter crew to the custody of the American Red Cross had taken place smoothly in the early afternoon. This is a fine solution since the negotiations were carried on between our Red Cross and that of the German

DECLASSIFIED

DECLASSIFIED

Democratic Republic without involving any official government-to-government negotiations.

Sunday, July 20, 1958

Office this afternoon. We reviewed the situation in the Middle East. The Chancellor has asked to see me tomorrow morning and I expect to tell him, with amplification, what I had already said to van Scherpenberg about our disappointment in the lukewarm stand taken by the FedRep Government regarding the American-British actions in Lebanon and Jordan.

Henry Pleasants thinks Adenauer has for a long time believed our Middle East policy to be mistaken. In the Chancellor's view we should have made a deal with Nasser long ago. Consequently, although he does not object to the landings, he thinks we must undertake an alteration in our entire policy for that part of the world.

I talked to Foster Dulles on the telephone this afternoon telling him I was to see the Chancellor at eleven o'clock tomorrow morning and would like to be in a position to ask for specific endorsement by him of the American and British landings in Lebanon and Jordan. He said I could do so. He is himself seeing Grewe this afternoon and will make the same observations to him. He thinks too many allied nations are blind to what would have been the consequences of American and British inaction to the threats posed by the revolution in Iraq. He compared it to the situation in the 30's when appeasement was tried in vain and little countries were picked off one by one.

DECLASSIFIED

DECLASSIFIED

Monday, July 21, 1958

I went to see the Chancellor at eleven o'clock and sent two telegrams about our conversation, [redacted], one directly to the Department and one via Allen Dulles. In talking to the Chancellor I did not tell him Elim O'Shaughnessy's reasoning about German popularity in the Middle East. Elim said certainly they are the most popular Westerners there, since they have killed more Jews, English and French than any other nation.

Walter Bowman, President of the Federation of German-American Clubs, came to see me.

After lunch I met Kit Steel to tell him about my conversation with the Chancellor before he himself went to the Palais Schaumburg.

Ben Javits called me from Baden-Baden with the idea of my perhaps communicating to the President and the Secretary his views on the possible solution of the Middle East imbroglio. I told him I would not think this advisable.

John McMaster, a lawyer and former classmate of mine at Princeton, called on me. He is attending, as a member of the American Bar Association, the conference of the International Bar Association in Köln later in the afternoon.

Messrs. Charles Rhyne of Washington, E. Smythe Gambrell of Atlanta, Georgia and Ross Malone of New Mexico, the first the President of the American Bar Association and the latter two his predecessor and his

DECLASSIFIED

DECLASSIFIED

yesterday. It [redacted] proceeded along the same general lines as his talk with me. We both suspect that the account of General de Gaulle's flirtation with the Soviets is a "plant". The Chancellor saw Steel after his conversation with the UAR Ambassador. He said that Zein-Eddine had spent most of his time denouncing Secretary Dulles and asserting it was impossible to reach any reasonable accommodation with him.

General Hodes has carried some of his points with General Zakharov regarding military convoys and trucks and we are in the thick of that discussion again. The Soviet offer seems acceptable with the exception of their assertion of their right to inspect, which we will emphatically deny.

E and I received at the Embassy Club [redacted] a party given in honor of Dean Robert Storey of the School of Law, Southern Methodist University. He is from Dallas, Texas and is a past president of the American Bar Association. The present occasion honors him as a representative of the Board of Foreign Scholarships. Afterwards we went to a celebration of Colombia National Day.

Priscilla and Alfred Jaretski arrived this afternoon by plane at Düsseldorf to spend a few days with us.

Wednesday, July 23, 1958

We have had dozens of telegrams from the East Zone, especially from workers' organizations and factories, protesting against the U. S. landings in Lebanon. We make no acknowledgment of them.

DECLASSIFIED

OUTGOING TELEGRAM

AMERICAN EMBASSY, BONN

CHARGE TO

- 229 -

CONFIDENTIAL
CLASSIFICATION

766
CONTROL NUMBER

PRECEDENCE

July 24, 1958 7 PM
DATE

5 GE/ea

AMB
DCM

POL

SENT TO: Secstate WASHINGTON (EMERG PRIORITY) 243

(1) Chancellor sent for me this afternoon and wanted Secretary informed substance his conversation today with Spaak who returned Paris this evening. There will be NAC meeting Paris tonight or tomorrow morning.

Spaak discontented allied agreement attend UN Summit Conference. Feels lack of unity amongst Westerners and inadequate preparation will result in Khrushchev obtaining propaganda victory. Spaak believes Security Council is proper forum only for discussion specific problems like Jordan and Lebanon but not general matters like MidEast affairs.

Adenauer agrees with this viewpoint but does not know what can be done about it. Says if Khrushchev succeeds in having Arab representatives join meetings latter will increase their influence

DISTRIBUTION

766

Name of originating Office, Persons Name, and Telephone No:

CONFIDENTIAL
CLASSIFICATION

Form AE - 681
(Nov 56)

Copies of this message may be made only in the Department by Telegraph Section

INFORMATION ONLY

Unless "Unclassified" reproduction from this copy is not authorized

THE FOREIGN SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

OUTGOING TELEGRAM

AMERICAN EMBASSY, BONN

CHARGE TO

- 230 -

CONFIDENTIAL
CLASSIFICATION

766
CONTROL NUMBER

PRECEDENCE

DATE

- 2 -

and prestige by appearing under Soviet sponsorship. Also fears Arabs may bring up Algerian question. In addition he understands no votes will be taken, therefore Khrushchev will not be placed publicly in minority position and will also profit by this in propaganda. He believes there must be strict application UN rules in event meeting takes place to limit discussions to Jordan and Lebanon questions.

(2) Secretary may be interested in telegram from Grewe to Chancellor which we will translate and repeat immediately.

(3) He is seeing the UAR Ambassador at latter's request noon tomorrow and will tell me about conversation later same day.

(4) Menderes arriving here Sunday to see Chancellor.

[redacted]

BRUCE

AUTH: DEBruce

O. B.

DISTRIBUTION
AMB
E. Cmr.
POL (1)
only

766

AME/DBruce/mab 3111

Name of originating Office, Persons Name, and Telephone No.

CONFIDENTIAL
CLASSIFICATION

Form AE - 681
(Nov 56)

INFORMATION COPY

Unless "Unclassified" reproduction from this copy is not authorized

THE FOREIGN SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

OUTGOING TELEGRAM

AMERICAN EMBASSY, BONN

1138 24 JUL 58

- 231 -

CHARGE TO

23 CE/RR

CONFIDENTIAL
CLASSIFICATION

768
CONTROL NUMBER

PRECEDENCE

July 24, 1958 7 PM
DATE

AMB
DCM

POL
ECON
USIS

SENT TO: Secstate WASHINGTON (EMERG PRIORITY) 245

FOR DILLON FROM BRUCE

Saw Chancellor this afternoon. He told me during Cabinet meeting this morning GerGovt had reached decision re its participation in Turkish financing which he thought would be satisfactory to all concerned.

BRUCE

D.N.

AUTH: DBruce

DISTRIBUTION
AMB
DCM
POL
ECON
USIS

768

AMB/DBruce/msb 3111
Name of originating Office, Persons Name, and Telephone No.

CONFIDENTIAL
CLASSIFICATION

Form AE - 681
(Nov 56)

Declassified/Released US Department of State
EO 12356 Sec. 3.5

INFORMATION COPY
Do not send by courier service or pouch. Mail copy or radio
copy or send by special delivery to Telegraph Section

Unless "Unclassified" reproduction from this copy is not authorized

Adenauer [redacted] also sent a message to the Secretary which we had translated today:

(Text on following pages 233 and 234).

In spite of his seriousness over the Summit Meeting, he relaxed considerably before I left and in a burst of geniality said I was his favorite Ambassador. He is a [redacted] courteous man.

I went fishing tonight on the Ahr with Bill Stearman. It was a fine breezy evening but [redacted] a bit chilly. There was a good hatch of flies but few fish were moving. We tried both dry and wet flies but caught nothing. I did not have a rise. Nevertheless, it was a [redacted] pleasant diversion and we got home about eleven o'clock.

Friday, July 25, 1958

Ed Hughes of TIME-LIFE came to see me this morning.

We [redacted] lunched with the Jaretzkis who are leaving this afternoon.

After lunch I saw George Boultwood of the Associated Press.

Paul Porzelt, a partner of Emanuel, Deetjen and Company and a great friend of Jim Bruce, came to see me. He was born near Bonn and comes over here every year.

Colonel Hartfield and Mrs. Frinck paid me a visit at the office. The Colonel, a partner of White and Case, is an old friend of mine. He is a miniature man physically, with a mammoth brain. One of his pals also attending the International Bar meeting in Köln told me yesterday that Hartfield's real age is 82 but he passed himself off as approaching 76.

SECRET

DECLASSIFIED

133

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL

Message from the Federal Chancellor of the German Federal Republic, Dr. Konrad Adenauer to the United States Secretary of State, Mr. John Foster Dulles

---

July 22, 1958

Dear Friend:

The critical events in the Middle East have placed you in front of decisions of great significance for your country and its Allies. The responsibility for the precautionary military measures taken by the United States, in the spirit of the Charter of the United Nations, for the maintenance of the security and peace in the Middle East must be a heavy burden on you and the President. However, I share your conviction that your action was justified.

The Federal Government observes with sympathy and understanding your efforts to steer the developments in the Middle East into a direction which serves the interests of the West and the justified aspirations of the Arab nations. Our willingness to support these efforts is a matter which goes without saying, as does the solidarity with our Allies in the NATO framework.

The statement of American motives and intentions which you have transmitted to me through Ambassador David K. Bruce and Ambassador Grewe is excellent. Also in the German public, initially very worried, a growing understanding of the American action is discernible. In agreement with you, I regard the decision to refrain from an intervention in Iraq and to oppose any such intentions of other States as wise. I am equally in full agreement with the intention of your Government to seek in the first place a solution within the framework of the United Nations.

SECRET

DECLASSIFIED

DECLASSIFIED

I must, however, ask for your understanding if the Federal Government continues to operate with a certain prudence, while of course approving the action taken by the United States and Great Britain. In the present phase of the crisis we can contribute only little to its solution, especially in view of the fact that we are not a member of the United Nations.

As soon as the crisis has been overcome, one should seek starting points for re-shaping Western policies in the Middle East. This all the more as in the past months the situation in that area has undergone a change to the disadvantage of the West. It must be feared that further Middle East countries will be torn into this whirlpool unless a new orientation of our policies is achieved.

I look forward to welcoming you here next Saturday. We will then have the opportunity for an extensive exchange of thoughts.

I would ask you to transmit my cordial greetings to the President.

With best regards,

Yours,

Adenauer

DECLASSIFIED

DECLASSIFIED

Anyhow, today he told me he would shortly be 76, but he has not changed in appearance during the thirty years I have known him.

We went to the Tunisian National Day reception this afternoon and had a dinner tonight for Mr. and Mrs. Douglas Fairbanks, Jr., and their two eldest daughters; the British Ambassador and Lady Steel; Dr. Sandro Paternostro; Mr. and Mrs. William Bell and Mr. Alfred Wells.

Reflecting on the probable Summit Conference, I think the Soviets have already gained some propaganda value in pressing for it. The Western answers almost imply recognition of the Soviet Government as a party in interest on Middle Eastern affairs.

Henry Pleasants quoted today somebody saying "the art of statesmanship is to persuade the unwilling to accept the inevitable". He said he thought this could be applied to American acceptance of a Summit Conference.

I had a telegram today from Sarah Scaife saying Alan had died suddenly yesterday. I am greatly distressed by this. We had been close friends since the 20's. I brought him into OSS during the War and his son is my Godson. He was a generous, fine man. The cause of death was not given.

Saturday, July 26, 1958

Office this morning.

E and I went to Wahn airport to meet the Dulles'. The Chancellor was there as well as most of the top men of the Foreign Ministry. In addition to the Secretary's security guard, Mr. O'Hanley, he was accompanied by Bill Rountree, Assistant Secretary for Near Eastern Affairs, Andy Berding,

DECLASSIFIED

DECLASSIFIED

Assistant Secretary for Public Relations, Bob Barnes, Jerry Green, Gerry Smith and Miss Asbjornson.

Foster and I had a half hour's talk at my house. He went over the events leading up to the despatch of our note to Khrushchev about a Summit Conference. The British had jumped the gun. Macmillan made his speech in the House of Commons and sent his reply to Khrushchev without prior agreement with the U. S. Government. Consequently, we were forced into a position of either repudiating the British or following more or less the same line. We chose the latter. It is dangerous for the British to reach decisions of such importance in order to gain domestic political advantage.

At the Palais Schaumburg, Foster gave the Chancellor a letter from President Eisenhower reading:

(Text on following page 237).

He had a private talk with Adenauer, then we all attended a large meeting.

Dulles explained the reasons for the landing of United States troops in Lebanon, thanked the Chancellor for his support of our position, discussed the recognition of Iraq, dwelt upon Arab nationalism and Nasser's character, spoke of the financial aid contemplated for Turkey and talked of the possible meeting of the United Nations Security Council to consider the Near East situation. Privately, he had already exchanged ideas with Adenauer on Franco-German relations. The Chancellor spoke of the necessity for unity

DECLASSIFIED